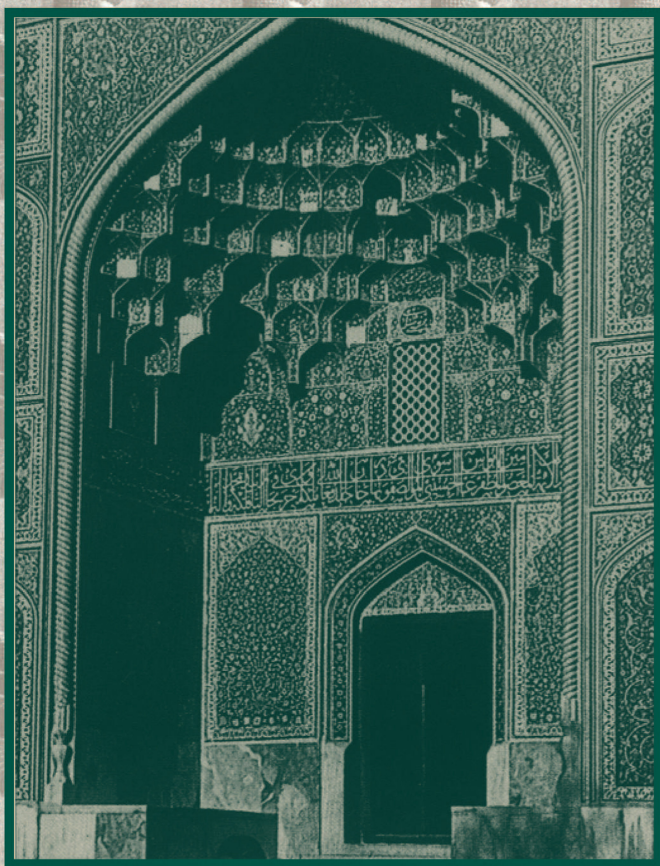


SECOND EDITION

# The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution



*From Monarchy  
to Islamic Republic*

MOHSEN M. MILANI

# **The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution**



**Taylor & Francis**

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**Second Edition**

# **THE MAKING OF IRAN'S ISLAMIC REVOLUTION**

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to Islamic Republic**

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**Mohsen M. Milani**



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*In the memory of my mother, I dedicate this book to those  
who preach and practice nonviolence.*



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# Preface to the Second Edition

This book presents a comprehensive analysis of the internal (political, economic, and ideological) and external (U.S. policy) causes and consequences of Iran's Islamic Revolution. It explains how and why an essentially nonviolent and popular movement overthrew Mohammad Reza Shah's apparently impregnable regime in 1979 and built upon its ashes a theocratic Islamic order, one that has changed both Iran's destiny and the political landscape of the Islamic world.

In the second edition, I have not changed the conceptual framework outlined in the first edition for explaining the Islamic Revolution. Nor have I altered my original assessment of why the Shi'i fundamentalists, under the leadership of Ayatollah Ruhollah Mussavi Khomeini, defeated their opponents and established their rule.

The new edition contains, however, some revisions and additions, which are often based on the newly released information and documents about Iran. Whereas a few sections have been totally rewritten, many others are now considerably shorter. In some sections, such as the ones on the Teheran hostage crisis and the Iranian involvement in the Kuwaiti crisis, I have included the information from the many interviews I conducted with the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the past three years.

Two entirely new chapters have been added to inform readers of the latest developments in Iran's domestic and foreign policies. One deals with the challenges that the Islamic Republic faced in the 1980s, including the bloody Iraq-Iran war, which ended in 1988. The other is devoted to the domestic and foreign challenges that President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani has confronted during the past five years, including a section about Iran's policy of active neutrality during the Kuwaiti crisis or the Second Persian Gulf War.

Since the dawn of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Teheran and Washington have been engaged in what Professor R. K. Ramazani calls "mutual satanization" of each other. The essential ingredients of this campaign are excessive exaggera-

tion of the perceived negative aspects of the other side plus dubious information, disinformation, mistrust, crude jingoism, and paranoia. The insatiable appetite of the mass media to sensationalize certain adventuristic actions by Iran, such as the Teheran hostage ordeal, has certainly helped perpetuate the prevalent atmosphere of mistrust. Given this inhospitable atmosphere, fiction and facts about Iran have often been confused in the United States. If we are to change this regrettable state of mistrust and paranoia, we must move in an entirely different path: the path of understanding what actually happened when the Shah was overthrown and what the Islamic Republic has done to make Iran Islamic. The ultimate goal of this book is to render the Islamic Revolution and its idiosyncrasies and peculiarities comprehensible to the U.S. reader.

I have tried to achieve this goal by presenting a fair analysis of the revolution, recognizing that total objectivity is a myth some of us take too seriously. In revising this book, I constantly reminded myself of my biases and genuinely tried to eliminate or minimize them. My hope was to produce a book that neither defends and glorifies nor defames and sensationalizes the Islamic Revolution. You will be the judge.

*Mohsen M. Milani*

# Acknowledgments

Making appropriate revisions and updating this book was more time-consuming and challenging than what I first imagined when I agreed to undertake the task. However, the invaluable guidance, support, and encouragement I received from my colleagues and dear friends made the completion of this job possible and gratifying.

Unlimited gratitude goes to my beloved father, who has been the most important source of inspiration for all my education. I am grateful to my brothers, Hossein and Hassan, and to my sister, Farzaneh, for their constant encouragement.

I am indebted to the colleagues who used this book's first edition as required reading in their courses. They and some of my own students made thoughtful suggestions to improve its quality.

I feel blessed to have received the generous support of Bahman Bakhtiari, Hoshang Chehabi, Manocher Dorraj, Michael Gibbons, Thomas Greene, JoAnne Hart, Farhad Kazemi, Abbas Milani, R. K. Ramazani, and Reza Sheikholislam. I express my sincere gratitude to them all.

Special thanks go to Marianne Bell and Carole Rennick from the University of South Florida for completing the word processing of a good portion of the manuscript; to Zhand Shakibi, one of my best students, for helping with the Chronology; to Helen Snively for her proficient copyediting and suggestions about style; to Karl Nayeri for assistance with the cover design; to Barbara Ellington, senior acquisitions editor at Westview Press, for good-humoredly seeing to it that I completed the project as scheduled; to Sarah Tomasek for her excellent copyediting; to Libby Barstow, senior production editor, for her valuable help in the production of the book; and to the staff and owner, my friend Jeff Babcock, of Joffrey's Cafe, for allowing me to use the cafe, where I did some editing of the manuscript, as my second office.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Ramak, whose wisdom and love have enriched my life. She did much of the research for the last two chapters. Having completed her university education under the Islamic Republic, she made

eloquent observations about life in Islamic Iran and thus strengthened the analysis presented in the second half of the book.

If there are any merits to this book, I share them with the individuals mentioned above. But I alone accept responsibility for its content and deficiencies.

*M.M.M.*

# Glossary

The terms are defined here only in the context used in the book.

<b><i>Asnaf</i></b>	Guilds (sing.: <i>senf</i> )
<b><i>Auqaf</i></b>	Charitable-religious endowments (sing.: <i>vaqf</i> )
<b>Ayatollah</b>	Revered title in Shi'ism conferred on a recognized <i>mujtahed</i> with some following
<b>Bazaar</b>	Demarcated area recognized as the center of trade and commerce
<b><i>Faqih</i></b>	Expert jurisprudent (pl.: <i>foqaha</i> )
<b><i>Fatva</i></b>	Authoritative opinion pronounced by an ayatollah on religious and other matters
<b><i>Feqh</i></b>	Islamic jurisprudence
<b><i>Hadith</i></b>	Sayings attributed to the Prophet and to the Twelve Imams
<b><i>Hey'at</i></b>	Religious group
<b>Hezbollah</b>	Party of God; a group highly devoted to Ayatollah Khomeini; created in 1979 in Iran
<b>Imam</b>	Title that prior to the Islamic Revolution was used primarily in reference to the twelve leaders recognized by Twelver Shi'ites as the legitimate rulers of Islam between A.D. 630–874; implies infallibility; recently Khomeini also called the Imam
<b>Khan</b>	Tribal chief; major landowner
<b>Komites</b>	Ad hoc committees created after the Shah's fall to safeguard the Islamic Revolution
<b>Majles</b>	Iranian parliament created in 1906

<b><i>Marja'-e taqlid</i></b>	Source of imitation; the highest living religious authority in Shi'ism (pl.: <i>maraja'-e taqlid</i> )
<b><i>Mujtahed</i></b>	An Islamic expert sanctioned to make independent judgment ( <i>ejtehad</i> ) on religious matters
<b>Pasdaran</b>	Guardians; militia created after the Islamic Revolution
<b>Seyyed</b>	Direct descendants of Prophet Mohammad, Imam Ali, and the other eleven imams
<b>Shari'a</b>	Islamic laws
<b>Sheikholislam</b>	A rank below ayatollah in the Shi'i hierarchy
<b>Ulama</b>	Experts on Islamic laws (sing.: 'Alem)
<b>Velayat-e Faqih</b>	Rule of jurisconsult; the basis of governance in the Islamic Republic of Iran

# Chronology of Significant Events

- 1501** Shah Isma'il founds the Safavid dynasty (1501–1747) and imposes Twelver Shi'ism as the state religion in Iran.
- 1811–1821** Iran loses two wars and some lands to Russia.
- 1882** Mohammad Mossadeq is born.
- 1892** Naser ad-Din Shah cancels a tobacco concession to a British company.
- 1901** William D'Arcy, a British subject, acquires a sixty-year oil concession.
- 1902** Ruhollah Khomeini is born.
- 1906–1907** Iran's first constitution is written and the Majles is created. In a secret treaty, England and Russia divide Iran into respective areas of influence.
- 1908** The Anglo-Persian Oil Company is founded.
- 1914–1921** Iran declares neutrality in World War I. Reza Khan and Seyyed Zia stage a coup and topple the government.
- 1919** Mohammad Reza Pahlavi is born.
- 1926** The Pahlavi dynasty replaces the Qajar dynasty. Khomeini completes his studies at Qom.
- 1926–1941** Reza Shah's modernization program unfolds. The government's compulsory unveiling of women begins.
- 1941** Despite Iran's neutrality in World War II, Allied forces occupy Iran and force Reza Shah to abdicate. His son, Mohammad Reza Shah, replaces him.
- 1944** Reza Shah Pahlavi dies in exile.

- 1951** Premier Haj Ali Razmara is assassinated by the Fada'iyun-e Islam. Premier Mossadeq nationalizes Iranian oil industry.
- 1953** In a British MI-6/CIA operation, Mosaddeq is overthrown. Iran signs a new treaty with Western oil companies.
- 1957** SAVAK, the Shah's secret service, is formed.
- 1962** Some of the ulama oppose a bill that grants suffrage to women and replaces the phrase "holy Quran" with "holy book" in the oath of office.
- 1963** The Shah launches his White Revolution. Khomeini declares an open war on the Shah, but not on the institution of the monarchy. Violent demonstrations are staged in major cities to protest Khomeini's detention (the June Uprising).
- 1965** Khomeini is exiled to Turkey and then to Iraq.
- 1967** Mohammad Mosaddeq dies.
- 1970** With the British withdrawal, Iran's military buildup in the Persian Gulf begins.
- 1971** Iran occupies three strategically located islands in the Strait of Hormuz.  
Sporadic guerrilla warfare against the Pahlavi regime begins.  
Communist China and Iran establish diplomatic relations.  
The Shah celebrates the 2,500-year anniversary of the Persian monarchy.  
Khomeini declares the incompatibility of Shi'ism with monarchism.
- 1972** At the request of Sultan Qabus, Iranian forces are introduced in the Dhofar province in Oman to fight the communists.  
The United States guarantees that the Shah can purchase the most sophisticated nonnuclear arsenal.  
The Mojahedin bomb the U.S. Information Center in Teheran and assassinate a U.S. military adviser.
- 1973** The Shah refuses to join the Arab oil embargo of the supporters of Israel. Oil prices increase substantially. King Zahir is overthrown in Afghanistan.
- 1975** Iran and Iraq sign a peace treaty.  
Two U.S. Air Force officers are assassinated in Teheran by guerrillas.  
To lower inflation, thousands of shopkeepers are fined and hundreds arrested.

- 1976**
- The Shah expresses doubt on the reliability of the United States as an ally.
  - Three more Americans are killed by guerrillas in Teheran.
  - The Imperial calendar replaces the Islamic calendar.
  - The Shah's liberalization policy begins.
  - National Front leaders submit an open letter to the Shah demanding that the Persian Constitution be observed.
  - Haj Aqa Mostafa, Khomeini's oldest son, dies in Iraq. His funeral is held in Teheran.
- 1978**
- Jan.
- In Teheran, U.S. President Jimmy Carter praises the Shah for creating an "island of stability" in the region.
  - In a newspaper article, the government attacks Ayatollah Khomeini.
  - Riots by religious dissidents break out in Qom.
- Feb.
- Riots break out in Tabriz.
- Aug.
- Esfahan is placed under martial law.
  - Hundreds are burned to death when a theater is set ablaze in Abadan by arsonists.
- Sept.
- Martial law is imposed in Teheran.
  - Hundreds of protesters are killed by the police (Black Friday).
- Oct.
- Khomeini is forced to leave Iraq and goes to Paris.
  - U.S. ambassador Sullivan emphasizes that "our destiny is to work with the Shah."
  - Oil workers go on strike.
- Nov.
- General Azhari forms a military government.
  - From Paris, Khomeini states that an Islamic Republic will be formed in Iran.
- Dec.
- Millions participate in the anti-Shah demonstrations.
  - National Front's Shahpur Bakhtiary agrees to form a cabinet.
- 1979**
- Jan.
- In Guadeloupe, the leaders of the Western nations decide to ask the Shah to leave Iran.
  - The Shah leaves Iran.
  - Carter declares U.S. support for Bakhtiary.
- Feb.
- After fifteen years in exile, Khomeini returns to Iran and appoints Mehdi Bazargan to head the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

- Feb. The Imperial Guard attacks the mutinous air force technicians in a Teheran garrison but is defeated by the revolutionaries who confiscate thousands of weapons.  
The armed forces declare their neutrality. Bakhtiyar goes into hiding. Evin Prison, Iran's Bastille, is stormed. Summary executions of the officials of the Shah's regime by the Revolutionary Courts begin.  
The Fada'iyun attack the U.S. Embassy in Teheran.
- March Women demonstrate against government dress code regulations.
- April By referendum, the Islamic Republic is born.
- May The Pasdaran is officially created.
- Oct. The ailing Shah is admitted to the United States.
- Nov. The U.S. Embassy in Teheran is seized by Moslem students. Embassy personnel are taken hostage. Bazargan resigns.
- Dec. Shariatmadari's supporters stage an uprising in Tabriz and demand the annulment of the new constitution.  
The Red Army invades and occupies Afghanistan.
- 1980**
- Jan. Abolhassan Bani Sadr is elected president.
- April The United States severs relations with Iran, imposes economic sanctions, and makes an abortive attempt to rescue the hostages.
- May The elections for the first Majles are completed.
- June In a failed coup against the Islamic Republic, hundreds are arrested. The universities are shut down and purges of educational institutions begin.
- July Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi dies. He is buried in Egypt.
- Sept. Iraq invades Iran.
- 1981**
- Jan. The U.S. hostages are freed.
- March Bani Sadr is removed from power. He escapes to France.  
A bomb kills high-ranking officials. The government blames the Mojahedin.
- July In the second presidential elections, Raja'i wins.
- Aug. In another bomb explosion, Raja'i, Prime Minister Bahonar, and the chief of police are killed. The Mojahedin are again blamed by the government.

- Oct.       Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei is elected president.
- 1982**
- Jan.       The Communist League takes over the city of Amol. The Pasdaran quickly puts down the rebellion and kills the rebels.
- Feb.       A Mojahedin hideout is attacked by the government and Khiyabani, the Mojahedin's leader, and scores of others are killed.
- April      Ayatollah Shariatmadari admits to having had prior knowledge of Sadeq Qotbzadeh's plan to stage a coup.
- May       Iran recaptures the port city of Khoramshahr.
- June       Kuzichkin, a Russian officer, defects to England and gives information about the Tudeh Party to the British.
- Sept.      Qotbzadeh is executed.
- 1983**
- Feb.       Some sixty top Tudeh Party officials are arrested on charges of spying for the Soviet Union.
- April      The government makes veiling of women compulsory.
- Sept.      Universities reopen, many of them for the first time since 1980.
- Dec.       The United States begins Operation Staunch to stop the flow of arms to Iran.
- 1984**
- March     Independent laboratory tests confirm that Iraq has been using mustard gas against Iranian troops.
- Nov.       The Council of Experts declares Montazeri as Khomeini's successor. Amnesty International claims that 6,027 persons have been executed in Iran since 1979.
- 1985**
- March     President Khamenei escapes an assassination attempt.
- Aug.       Khamenei is reelected president.
- 1986**
- June       Rajavi moves the Mojahedin's headquarters from Paris to Baghdad.
- Nov.       A Lebanese newspaper reports that the United States had clandestinely delivered arms to Iran in exchange for Iranian assistance in the release of the U.S. hostages held in Lebanon.

**1987**

- Jan. Senate Intelligence Committee reports that officials in the Reagan administration deceived one another and the Congress.
- March House Resolution 216 warns that the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war could result in an “Iranian breakthrough” that would damage the strategic interests of the United States.
- April Rafsanjani states that U.S.-Iranian relations need not remain hostile until “doomsday.”
- July Ayatollah Khomeini dissolves the Islamic Republican Party.
- Oct. Mehdi Hashemi is executed. His supporters allegedly provided a Lebanese newspaper with information that unraveled the secret Iran-U.S. arms deal.  
U.S. president Ronald Reagan announces a comprehensive embargo on U.S. imports from Iran.

**1988**

- April The Reagan administration announces U.S. protection of all vessels in the Persian Gulf.
- July USS *Vincennes* downs a commercial Iranian aircraft and kills all of its 290 passengers. Later it was revealed that the *Vincennes* was in Iranian territorial water and that the commercial aircraft was downed in Iranian airspace.
- Aug. Iran and Iraq accept the UN-sponsored resolution for a cease-fire.

**1989**

- Feb. The Islamic Republic claims that Ayatollah Khomeini issued a *fatva* sanctioning the killing of Salman Rushdie, the author of *The Satanic Verses*.
- March Iran breaches diplomatic ties with England over the Rushdie affair. Ayatollah Montazeri resigns as Khomeini’s successor.
- June Ayatollah Khomeini dies.  
Hojatolislam Khamenei succeeds Khomeini as the new *faqih*.
- July Rafsanjani is elected president.

**1990**

- Aug. Rafsanjani promises to privatize some of the major industries.  
Iraq invades and occupies Kuwait. Iran strongly condemns the Iraqi aggression but declares neutrality in the Second Persian Gulf War.
- Oct. Iran resumes diplomatic relations with Iraq and England.

Nov. U.S. president George Bush authorizes importation of Iranian oil and relaxes the 1987 ban on Iranian imports.

**1991**

March The end of the Second Persian Gulf War.  
Bush states that Iran should not be “treated forever as an enemy.”

April Rafsanjani calls for closer cooperation with the West and with the Persian Gulf nations.

Aug. Former prime minister Bakhtiyar is assassinated in Paris. The opponents of the Islamic Republic blame the Iranian government.

**1992**

Jan. Some U.S. officials believe that Iran paid captors \$1 million for the release of each American held hostage in Lebanon.

Feb. Israel kills chief of the Lebanese Hezbollah in Lebanon. Rafsanjani urges restraint.  
The International Atomic Agency concludes that Iran’s nuclear sites and activities are only for peaceful purposes.

March Iran attempts to mediate between different fighting factions in the Islamic republics of the former USSR.  
Iran expels some “suspected” elements from the Abu Musa island.  
The United Arab Emirates protests the Iranian action.  
The parliamentary elections for the 4th Majles are completed.

**1993**

March The World Bank approves a \$157 million loan to Iran for agricultural projects and a \$165 million loan to finance a power station in Iran.

April Iran bombs the headquarters of the Mojahedin in Iraq.

May Martin Indyk, National Security Council adviser, discusses the essence of a new U.S. policy of dual containment to isolate Iran and Iraq.

June President Rafsanjani is reelected for a second four-year term.



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# **The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution**



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# Introduction

Iran's Islamic Revolution of 1979 was one of the most fascinating and surprising events of the second half of this turbulent and bloody century. It bewildered experts and policymakers alike. Shortly before Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919–1981) was overthrown, everything seemed to be in his favor. He enjoyed the support of the United States and other Western powers, the half-million-strong and well-equipped army, and SAVAK—the acronym in the Persian language for his secret intelligence agency that was perceived by most Iranians to be omnipotent and omnipresent. His government faced no dire financial crisis, nor had it come out of a devastating war or a humiliating military defeat, as had been the case in prerevolutionary France, Russia, and China. In fact, the Shah could take credit for making Iran an important force in the international arena and for managing Iran's stupendous economic growth in the first part of the 1970s, unprecedented in its modern history.

Moreover, the opposition to the Peacock Throne was checkmated by SAVAK. It was divided and confused. His sworn enemies, like most Iranians, could not even imagine overthrowing the powerful Shah, not to speak of his dynasty. In fact, the idea of his invincibility—the Supers Shah Syndrome—had become endemic in Iran and within the U.S. foreign policy establishment: President Jimmy Carter praised the Iranian monarch, exactly a year before he was toppled, for having created an “island of stability” in a troubled region of the world.

Then came the sudden tidal wave of revolution. It took the revolutionaries about one year to hammer the final nail into the coffin of the Shah's well-fortified regime and his dynasty.

That a popular revolution overthrew a repressive despot was neither strange nor unique: The history of revolutions is replete with such events. Truly startling, however, was the role Islam played in precipitating the Islamic Revolution and its emergence as the hegemonic ideology in postrevolutionary Iran. After all, modern revolutions have inspired societies free of ecclesiastical influence and based on new ideas and ideals. In France, for example, the revolutionaries confiscated the enormous properties of the Roman Catholic Church and changed its Gregorian calendar to the year zero, symbolic of their determination to begin some-

thing entirely new. The communists in Russia and China relied on a secular ideology that was inherently antagonistic to all religions. Once in power, the communists did what they could, albeit with little success, to suppress religion.

Prior to the revolution in Iran, the conventional wisdom portrayed religion as a dying and anachronistic force whose appropriate place was in history books. In utter defiance of that flawed paradigm, the Shi'i ulama, who were to have been crushed beneath the wheels of secularization and capitalist development of the Pahlavi era, became the "philosopher kings" of a new theocracy founded on the doctrine of the Velayat-e Faqih or the ulama's direct rule. Quickly Imperial Iran, "that island of stability," became Islamic Iran and the center of a new Islamic movement that has haunted much of the Islamic world during the past decade.

Why was the Shah's regime so easily defeated? Why did so many experts fail to see the coming of the Islamic Revolution? How and why did Islam become the dominant ideology of the revolution and how did the Shi'i ulama defeat their opponents and establish their rule? What are the failures and accomplishments of the Islamic Republic? This book is designed to answer these and other intriguing questions about the Islamic Revolution.

Specifically, I endeavor to explain the economic, political, and ideological preconditions that precipitated the revolution, some of the internal and external factors that facilitated the ulama's accession to power, and some of the profound consequences of Iran's Islamization on the fortunes of an old nation in hopes of a better future. In pursuit of these objectives, I focus on the nature and evolution of the Iranian state, for whose control the Islamic Revolution was launched. I discuss the changing patterns of the Iranian state's relations with the hegemonic foreign powers, particularly the United States, and with social groups that possessed considerable organizational and financial resources, namely the ulama, the bazaar merchants and shopkeepers, and the intelligentsia.

The arguments of this book are organized into five parts and eleven chapters. That experts failed to envision as late as 1978 the end of the monarchy and the ascendancy of the ulama was the product of their erroneous assumptions about Pahlavi Iran. Part 1 explains the roots of this conceptual crisis—what I call theoretical glaucoma in the study of Iran. In it, I propose a holistic conceptual framework for explaining the Islamic Revolution, one that is based on the synthesis and revision of and addition to various theories of revolution. It is assumed that the interaction of factors Niccoló Machiavelli called *fortuna* with both the idiosyncrasies of leaders and objective preconditions precludes the possibility of applying prepackaged and often ethnocentric theories of revolution.

Part 2 provides the historical background to the Islamic Revolution. Chapter 2 analyzes the Constitutional Movement of 1905–1911 and the reasons for the creation of the Pahlavi dynasty. Chapter 3 explains Mohammad Reza Shah's successful drive toward absolute power in the first two decades of his reign (1941–1979) and the challenges he faced from Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Included here is a detailed account of the June Uprising of

1963 (a dress rehearsal for the Islamic Revolution, as it has been called), which led to Khomeini's exile to Turkey and then to Iraq.

Why was Khomeini so easily defeated by the Shah in 1963 but able to come back in 1979 to dethrone him? An important part of the answer to that puzzle may be found in the transformation of Iranian society and polity in the 1960s and 1970s. Part 3, consisting of three chapters, focuses on the political, ideological, and economic preconditions of the Islamic Revolution.

Revolutions do not come; they are made. Part 4 deals with the art of making the Islamic Revolution and how power was transferred from the *ancien régime* to the Islamic revolutionaries. The popular movement that overthrew the Shah went through eight stages. For each stage, I explain the strategies of and interactions among the Shah's regime, the United States, and the revolutionaries, bringing to the surface such critical factors as the leadership abilities of both the Shah and Khomeini.

Part 5 explains how the Shi'i fundamentalist forces under Khomeini's leadership defeated their rivals and created an Islamic theocracy. Here I challenge the proposition that Shi'i fundamentalism was the principal cause of the revolution, a proposition based on reading history backward. I argue that Shi'i fundamentalism was more a consequence than a principal precondition of the revolution: Its ascendancy was neither predestined nor inevitable. Chapters 8 and 9 describe how the fundamentalists shrewdly outmaneuvered their rivals, mainly the Islamic nationalists, the secular nationalists, the Islamic socialists, and the leftists. This process began with the gradual strangling of Mehdi Bazargan's Provisional Revolutionary Government and ended with the ouster of President Abolhassan Bani Sadr. This section includes a detailed discussion of the Teheran hostage crisis.

It is one thing to win a revolution and an entirely different matter to govern a country. In the last section, I discuss the challenges the Shi'i fundamentalists have faced in the past fourteen years in trying to govern and Islamize Iran. Chapter 10 describes the nature and consequences of Iran's drive toward radicalism under Ayatollah Khomeini's rule, and Chapter 11 details the Islamic Republic's drive toward moderation and pragmatism under Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei and President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. Considerable attention is given to the Iraq-Iran war and to Iranian foreign policy during the Kuwaiti crisis.

Because there is no standardized system for transliterating Persian into Latin characters, I have opted for a simple system. Familiar nouns, like *imam*, are given in their common spelling. Other words are transliterated in agreement with Persian pronunciation. Consonants are written as pronounced; the short vowels are represented by *a*, *e*, and *o*; and the three long vowels by *a*, *i*, and *u*. To avoid diacritical marks, *a* represents both the Persian short and long vowels. *Ezafeh* is *-ye* after a vowel and *-e* for a consonant.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations from the Persian-language sources are by the author.

A review of the Chronology of Significant Events is recommended before reading the text.